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APPENDIX.

A DETAILED ANALYSIS

OF

ABDUL GHAFUR'S DICTIONARY OF THE TERMS USED BY

CRIMINAL TRIBES IN THE PANJAB.

BY

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ANALYSIS.

THE heading "Original Slang Terms in Roman" is scarcely correct as a description either of the artificial language of thieves, elsewhere called "Thieves' Latin," or of real dialects spoken by tribes, whether criminal or not. That criminals often borrow words from other languages than their own, in order to conceal their object from an ordinary listener, has been proved by the thieves in England borrowing from the language of the gipsies; but, whilst the latter have a language of undoubted Hindui origin, the former have no language at all, properly so called. Precisely the same thing has happened in India, but the author has confounded argots with dialects, as will be shown further on. The use of the word "Roman" is suggestive; if he means "Romany," or the language of gipsies, he suggests an interesting enquiry which I have endeavored to solve (*vide* pamphlet published in 1859 and republished at Lahore in 1865), and to which, I believe, I have made a recent contribution in the *real* dialect of the Changars. He probably means merely "transliteration into the Roman character." It is necessary to notice that the pages of the Dictionary in question are divided into four columns, of which the first is headed "Original Slang Terms in Roman"; the second "Translation in English"; the third "Urdu Translation"; and the fourth "Original Language (دہان اصلی)," to which, for the sake of brevity, reference will be made as "the original" in the present Analysis.

2. The repetition of the same words, instead of *one* vocabulary, unduly extends a small contribution, which is limited to about 500 half-lines or words of supposed original matter. It is unlikely that these should represent eight real or artificial languages, or twenty-five to twenty-six years' work under specially favorable circumstances. The Panjabi equivalents which I have added to the original are generally sufficient to explain the meaning of the supposed special dialects, though the task is rendered difficult by the errors of translation, transcription or transliteration which characterize almost every word in the book under review.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—"GAMBLERS"

(containing 25 words or sentences).

A knowledge of the *principles* of the slang of our thieves would have been far more useful to public officers than a collection of haphazard sentences which may or may not be used within their hearing, and which are, except as regards the Sansis, so few in number as to be scarcely of any use. In the gamblers' dialect, *e.g.*, "sirá" is "a rich traveller" and also "a traveller" in the sentence of "sirá úrá do," which requires no explanation, but of which the English is given as "to cheat a traveller on the road by deception," and the Urdu as "is musafir ka mál farebse lé lo," though "take his property" is "jot lena" in the "Thieves' Latin" of the next line but one, as well as "tir kar lo" ["tir" should be "tiri"] and "ya kar sutto" with an unnecessary and confusing use of "ya" = "or." When we are told that "Thúllá" is "Thanadár or Deputy Inspector," we do not require the sentence "Thúllá áya" [though "the original" has "á," which *might* be a dialectic form]. The original has "baiti kha," but the "Roman" adds "já" for "decamp, escape." With "unchi dhur" as "a very rich man," "khopra thúllá" for "European officer," "dala" = "fair" [should be "a fair"], and the sentence "thambá gya," "kámp kháli" and "liá gya" for "has been caught" or "the stolen property found out," we close the so-called "Language of the Gamblers." Nothing could

be more misleading to a police officer on the scent of crime than to be told that "arí dhándal" is "a crowd of gamblers," and "dhándal arí" "a crowd of constables" two pages further on. The truth is that this language, so far as I can judge, is a very transparent perversion of ordinary talk. I will reserve for criticism further on the description given of the various kinds of gamblers,—"Ari-Már, who play with *kauris*, *thikris* (bits of earthenware) or *tasma* (leather strap); *Nausarbáz* or *Nausar-de-karu*, who use a pack of cards (Ganjifá) not bigger generally than a rupee, consisting of 96 cards divided into 8 suits (?); *Dheyáni*, who play with two dice called *kábtain* (the Urdu has 'in a secret place'); *Bhaddí*, *Sulí Luterí*, who play with three dice called *Pánsa*. Kauri, Thikri, Tasma (already explained) come under the heading *Kánsa* (better *Kánsa*). Tásh, Ganjifá = cards. The dice or 'kábtain' played by Dheyánis are called *Dáná*, *Khilauná*, *Jorá*. Dul, Golka, is 'a die,' the long dice with which Chaupar is played, used by Bhaddis, the 4th class of gamblers, called 'Pánsa' or 'Pása.' 'Beela' is a kauri or kábtain filled with lead or quicksilver. *Seelá*, *Pakha*, a forged Pánsa also filled with lead or quicksilver; Toh karna = to gamble; Toh gíra = a gambler; Thúllá, Nokewala Thúllá = Thanadár or Deputy Inspector of Police; Baidrá, Papeea = sepoy or police constable." This paragraph embodies the information contained in the first section of the first chapter.

Analysis.—Passing over the accounts given of the Sansis, Doomras, Gandilas, Sweepers, Harnis, Bawaris (Bauriahs), Minas, Maos, Gujars, Ahirs and Thags, which are disposed of in eight pages, I have addressed myself, for the present, to the linguistic portion only of this book (*vide* pages 28 to 66). As the first chapter, however, opens with a description of four classes of gamblers, I have to point out that even their designations are not free from objections.

I.—The first class of gamblers, "Ari-Már," is really the Fakir who, pressing his elbows on his knees, sits so long in front of a shop till its worn-out keeper gives him an alms. The second, "Nausarbáz," is merely a corruption of "Chausatbáz," the common game of 64 courts. The third, "Dheyáni," are said to play with two dice called "kábtain." Now, "kabtain" ("ai" being diacritically pronounced) is the common word for two dice, and is the dual of "Ka'bat" (كعبتين). The phrase of a converted gambler "I left the two Ka'bas for the *Ká'ba*" = the sacred building at Mecca, or, literally, "Leaving the two Ka'bas, I have already gone to the *Ká'ba*" (هم كعبتين چھوڑ کے كعبہ كو جا چكے), occurs in point. Cards were used by the Arabs for the forbidden purpose of fortune-telling, whence they were called "Nabías," and the "*Ká'bat*," or die, was supposed to have the form of the sacred "*Ká'ba*," and thus perhaps to lessen the sinfulness of the amusement. In fact, "*Ká'b*" is our "cube."

II.—Now as regards the instruments used by the gamblers. They too, like the above designations for gamblers, are common Panjabi or Hindustani, sometimes only in thin disguise. "Tásh," "Ganjifá," "Khilauná," "Jorá" (spelt as in the original) (a pair of dice = kabtain) need no comment. "Dul" is a form from "dálua," the Hindustani equivalent for "kabtain." "Dáná" seems to be also another incorrect rendering of "dalna." "Kán sá" is, of course, "*Kánsa*," which means "a set."

III.—When we come to the sentences, the observer will find pure Hindustani terms, such as "thambá gya," "liá gya," put down as "Thieves' Latin." Nor does it require special study to discover the meaning of phrases "sirá úrá do," "dhúr játi hai jot lená" and "tir kar lo" in the metaphorical language that must be used by *badmashes* of all countries, whether the prize that escapes is loot or a pretty woman that may be passing along. What, however, is very suggestive is that a language said to be common to all gamblers and swindlers of the Panjab should be the same as that of the Meos of Delhi, Gurgaon, Hissar, the North-Western Provinces and Rajputana. All these points are gone into in their proper places,

SECTION II.—“THIEVES AND PICKPOCKETS”

(containing 97 words or sentences).

Introductory Remarks.—Here we have again a sub-division of thieves under the head of “Bishní Atráf,”* which seems to correspond with one made in Akbar’s reign and mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. It is not, however, correct, for “uchakká” is a common term for “thief,” whilst “utháígírá” and “subhe-keziá” denote obvious sub-divisions of labor in that profession, so that we are left with “jeb-katrá” = “pickpocket” and “uchakká” under “Bishní Atráf.” Under the head of “instruments” used by thieves we learn no new names, but we have “kát” for “a piece of glass” and “shísha” (in connexion with “lakrí-shísha”) as “a small knife,” the vernacular being “kát” for “knife” and “shísha” for “glass.”

Again, no dialectic study is required to explain the Panjabi “phúl” (an ornament worn on the forehead); “dhágá,” a thread; “haddi” for “hassi” = the collar worn on the neck. “Kúndal” in No. 17 is the common Hindi word for ring. “Damri” or “damra” for rupee is not the language of pilferers, but that of Panjabis generally, and of Sikhs especially, as in “the four rupees given in religious offering” = “chár damre ardás karáe.”

The practice of having separate numerals is not confined to thieves. It is constantly invented and shifting. I have shown that the shawl-weavers and goldsmiths affect certain terms for numerals; the brokers use other terms; the horse-dealers, a third set: but this circumstance alone would not justify our classing them among criminal tribes possessing a separate language. Of the several names for “lock,” “binda” is = Panjabi “jinda.”

In the sentences 49, 52, 53 and 55 “kar le” is rendered as “take off.” This, were it true, would certainly be a dialectic or professional sense of the word “to do.” The author, however, who knows Urdu, but does not know Panjabi, has mistaken the Panjabi “kadh” = “take off,” which was undoubtedly used in the original, as the Urdu “kar.” The sentences which follow are Panjabi, rarely with one or two slang words in them, as “pásá wat já.” Some are used metaphorically, and others are repeated from previous parts of the book. I may add that the numbers in the following Analysis correspond with those of the words and sentences of the book.

Analysis.—Here we may have a few specimens of “argot.” (5) “Kát” may be used for “a broken piece of a bottle with which pockets are cut open,” but the original is “kát lakri,” which may be real slang, just as (6) “lakrí-shísha” for “a small knife” would be real slang. (2) “Gand ghisni,” “to cut a purse or a bundle of articles in an open market or large fair,” is also slang. (4) “Bishní Atráf” seems wrong for “to rob anything from a peculiar spot, such as a railway station or an inn.” (1) “Lám gir” and (3) “phatka gir” are obvious, though I doubt whether the former is also “to cut a purse in an open market,” which we have already had. Yet these four last words are put under the head of “four kinds of thieves,” though these words merely belong to “uchakkás” or “thieves and pickpockets,” on whose language there is no further information. Proceeding now to the “UTHÁÍGÍRÁS” or “PILFERERS,” we find again the *gamblers’* slang. (1) “Thúllá” is Deputy Inspector; (2) “baidrá,” “papeea” is watchman as well as constable [so is also “dáu”]; (3) “dhúr” sinks down to an “individual” from “rich individual,” as with gamblers. (4) “Dálá” keeps up as “fair.” (5) “Dhándal arí,” for a crowd of

* These go by the following names in India, according to the author :

Uchakká = thief.

Utháígírá = pilferer.

Jeb-katrá = pickpocket.

Subhe-keziá = a thief who rises up early in the morning and steals before people are awake.

constables or of gamblers, whichever one likes, I have already commented on. (6) "Seet" and (7) "chává," however, are added as "woman" and "boy" respectively [the latter being the true gipsy word "chay" corrupted into our "chap," viz., "a rum chap" from "a Rom chay" or gipsy-boy]. (8) "Phúl" and "khopar" are rather unnecessarily explained as head jewelry and embroidered cap respectively, though it never seems to have occurred to the author that his "European officer" was a simple "topi-walla" when the gamblers called him "khopra thúllá" or the Deputy Inspector *with a cap*. (9) "Haddi gar" is a necklet; (10) "dhágá," we are rather unnecessarily told, a thread tied to both ends of the "hansli" (and, no doubt, to other things too). Then come a few words for ornaments, either slang or Panjabi. (16) "Sundri" (ring) is evidently for "mundri"; (17) "kúndal" = "earring" probably for "bundá," and other perversions or corruptions, which can be constantly changed with ease by pilferers. In (21) "bahuti" for "pice," (22) "damri" [twice repeated on the same page as rupee or coin], "nethá," "bhuntá" = "rupee"; (23) "gullí" for "gold mohur"; (24) "seeá" = "gold"; [(25) "gár" = "silver" is dialectic]; (26) "pattá" = "note, leaf"; (28) "tali, khandéli" = eight annas; (29) "másha" = four annas; (30) "adh máshá, rattí" = two annas; (31) "dokrí" = two rupees; (32) "páun sari" = three; (33 to 36) "sári" = four; "sawá sári" = five; "derh sári" = six; "dhái sári" = ten, we have slang, changeable *ad libitum*, but in the "sári" instances indicating some system. (37) "Tind" = "pocket" is slang. (38) "Ghá kerna pút ka" = "To tear open a bundle or parcel," seems inexact. (39) "Khakri" for "cotton purse"; (40) "akhrot," "makra," "bindá," "kurakná" for "lock" indicate obvious distinctions; (41) "phúl, gubha" = "box, house," is unsatisfactorily put; whilst we do not require to be told, as a sentence in a peculiar dialect, (42) "Seet játi hai, pichaút kar" = "The woman is going; follow her"; (43) "Lohi tham le" = "He or she is careless, take it," or that "Saudá khinch le" in sentence (44) requires the translation "Take whatever you can," though, no doubt, the recommendation would be followed. By putting the natural pauses of the human voice in the next sentence I dare say that an officer, unacquainted with the book, could pretty well make out all he required from the following: (45) "Chawá baihti; kasé janda hai—bol bachan karke, thasá lé" without the explanation "The boy is coming; take him to some secret place, and get whatever you can from him," or the equally inexact Urdu "Larka jata hai, kisi taraf lejárkar, mál lelana" [which omits an important part of the sentence]. We rescue "thasá" when in the very next sentence (46) we find "Chamkainh thasánah kha jái tu gauna pá ley," for which the Urdu is given as "Khabardár na hojawe, zewar utár lena," and the English, which is to instruct and guide our European detectives, is "Take care that he may not be on the alert; hide the jewelry"; whilst the original really is "Chamka na thasá kha gya, tu gahna pá le," which is not quite the same thing. There is, of course, the same general meaning in the Roman, English, Urdu and original slang sentences, but we require exactness in sentences of this kind; otherwise they must mislead. The "slang" does not exactly agree with the Urdu translation; the Urdu translation differs from the English translation and both from the original; whilst the transliteration is unsystematic throughout, and a portion of one word often runs into another. The book, when corrected and very considerably enlarged, will require a grammatical introduction, and, in its present form, would have been far more useful than it is had it merely contained an enumeration of terms used by the criminal classes with their exact equivalents.

"Bol bachan ker" is "coaxing" in sentence 45, and "set up a quarrel" in sentence 47, whilst it is simply the vulgar "having a jaw." There is a long account given of the following simple injunction to a thief to divert the attention of his intended victim:—(47) "Neegh pattá lé gaóne tika de, bol bachan kar, ise pilich pawangee." Here again the Urdu takes flights of its own in explanation, whilst the whole thing is simply "Nigh patá le, gaóne takká dé, bol bachan kar, ise pilich pawange," = "Take food, give a push, have a jaw, we will get behind him." (48 to 64) "Phúl tor le," "Khopar kar le," "saudá baná le," "patka már le," "kundá baná le," for "tearing off,"

"doing," "dodging," &c., certain ornaments, are mere vulgar terms common among thieves in all countries, but they do not justify the author to go again through the list of ornaments with the addition of "kar," "le," "baná," and add another page containing the same information. However, (65) "Chirá de sikh bhar le" = "Cut open the pocket and draw it out with the two forefingers," is new, and so is a portion of (66) "Kát nal gha rakh de" = "Cut it open with a broken piece of bottle" (at any rate as a suggestion). (67) "Bhamp le" is simply "Look out," and not "Look well and see if he has got anything," nor the Urdu "Dekh, kuch mál hai ya nahin." In the next sentence the author seems to show a knowledge of anatomy. "Gauná" is "that hole underneath the uvula" ("virila" in the text) "which is made to conceal money." This explanation would be sufficient, and there would have been no necessity for giving a long and inexact translation of (68) "Gauná tyár hai." (69) "Phatká márná dhúr loh hai" is simply "Strike the top; the man is careless" [a few words go a long way with thieves, and "top" may be the jewelry worn on the head, the head itself, &c., &c., according to circumstances]. (70) "Seet khandí khochar hai" = "The woman is very active and on her alert," and (71) "Seet bhuttá hai; phark le" = "The woman is very simple-looking; take whatever you can," may pass. (72) "Chándá kar le" for "Take off the sheet or chaddar or dupattá" [as the Urdu has it] I only object to on grounds already stated in connexion with adding "kar," "baná," &c., to ordinary words; but in (73) "Núk loh hai; tor le" I see more than "Take away the turban," viz., "The turban is exposed; snatch it off," and "exposed," "within reach" will often be found to be a better translation of "loh" when used by pilferers than "careless." (74) "Mádho" for "hush" is good without explaining a number of occasions when "hush" is used. (75) "Phúl já" = "Go away" is better than "Leave me." The useful "dhúr" turns up again in (76) "Dhúr sir hai," but only as "Some one is looking." (77) "Soon khinch" for "Keep quiet" is conventional. (78) "Unchá núk wálá thúllá ata hai" is rather a long title for the Deputy Inspector, now also translated as Darogha in the Urdu. It is simply the "Nokewalla Thulla" of the gamblers. (79) "Baidra, papehá nál hai" is rather Panjabi than "thieves' dialect" for "with him." (80) "Pása wat ja" = "Keep aside." (81) "Chappar khá ja" for "Get out slowly" is scarcely correct. It means "put a chappar in front of yourself by screening yourself behind some one else." The same word is used when a thief tells his associate to make a chappar to the intended victim by going in front and allowing him to rob the person from behind (*vide* my collection of slang terms, Lahore, 1872). (82) "Baihti kás já ya baihti khá já" for "runaway" can be explained by any one whom the "khá ja" = "eat" does not puzzle. (83) "Phúl men thas ja" is simply "sneak into the crib," but is rendered as "Go inside the house; go there where you have been last night." The author's sentence is more elegant, but no language is learnt, at this stage, by circumlocution. (84) "Unchá darawá (thasawa ?) hai, bhamp na le," I leave to be more correctly translated by any one who has read the foregoing pages with attention than "The property is too much; take care that you are not seen." (85) "Kháú hai" = "He is a receiver of stolen property" is valuable. (86) "Lia gya, thambá ya thamma gaya" for "has been caught" is a repetition; to render (87) "Man gya" = "He has owned it" is superfluous. "Kámp khá li" for "The property has been found" we will leave for the present and proceed to

SECTION III.—"OF THIEVES, KHALLAIT, UCHAKKÁS AND TAGU" (?)

(containing 21 words or sentences).

Here the introductory explanation that this class generally steal cloth, sundries, &c., from carriages and banks of streams, where people resort for religious ablutions, is valuable, if correct.

- (1) Charkhi = "carriage" : *va sans dire*. Charkhi is "wheel."
- (2) Chaláwá = "a rich traveller" should be "a traveller," from "chalna."
- (3) Sutli = "bundle."
- (4) Kálki = "lota."

- (5) Kánsa = "cup."
- (6) Bárút = "cloths of every description" (occurred as "chanda baroot" under Pilferers).
- (7) Pech = "turban" is "one turn of the turban."
- (8) Bhagrá = "an upper garment, a shirt," may be the Panjabi "dhaglá" = "an open shirt."
- (9) Naisri = "a cotton purse" may be = "bánsli."
- (10) Siá = "gold," we had as "seeá" under Pilferers.
- (11) Dhúki = "silver" is new.
- (12) Darshan = "give something" (compare with the ordinary use of the word).
- (13) "Charkhi baihti hai" needs no translation, "Sutli phor" = "take the bundle."
- (14) Dáú sir hai, khontí mor = "The constable has seen you; give him money."
- (15) Sarí bhar khontí de, nahen dáú thúllá lejawega = "Give four rupees, or else the constable will take you to the police station."
- (16) Thikkal thullí jáwe to thúl = "If you can undo the knot, then do." Here the Urdu equivalent, curiously enough, almost corresponds with the English, but I suspect that both are wrong,
- (17) De darshan = "Give the share" [compare this with the immediately previous use of "darshan"].
- (18) Háth malna = "The owner is careful." The author should have said that the injunction to "Rub your hand" is to imply that the owner is careful. Similarly (19) "Háth pesháni par rakhna" does not mean that the owner is careless, but that this is a mere sign of his being so. (20) "Háth sir par rakhna," however, is rendered as "Take the bundle on your head"; whilst (21) "Nák par ungli rakhná" is given as "To prevent" [probably "Stop him" would be more correct]. That thieves might agree that putting their hand to their forehead, head or nose should indicate a particular intention is very probable, but that these signs should be confined to any particular class is very doubtful. It certainly forms no part of *language*. A few pages further on we, for instance, find among the "Terms used by the cattle-robbers called Pachada" that "to put the hand on the head" does not mean "Take the bundle on your head," but "Take care and do not disgrace me by mentioning my name." Now, it may be somewhat confusing to a police officer, before whom a suspected individual is brought, to know which of the two injunctions is meant, unless the *mauvais sujet* is good enough to inform him whether he is a cattle-robber or a robber from carriages.

CONCLUSION ARRIVED AT REGARDING CHAPTER I.

The above supposed four dialects of Gamblers, Thieves and Pickpockets, Pilferers, and Carriage-robbers are in reality only one form of slang. The slang nouns used by one class are used by, or known to, the other. The slang verbs are few in number, and are variations of the idea "to take away." "Baihta" for "bhagta" is "to go," "get out." All the rest is Panjabi or Urdu, and can be understood by any police officer, European or Native, who is fairly attentive. The names of ornaments, of course, are numerous, and, as ornaments offer the greatest temptation to robbery in this country, it is proper that thief-catchers should know them; but they vary in different parts of the country, and the little we are told in the collection of words under discussion is of very small use.

CHAPTER II.—HOUSE-BREAKERS, HIGHWAY ROBBERS OF THE *Sansi* CLASS.

(containing 103 words or sentences.)

This is the principal part of the book. The numbers quoted are those of the Dictionary.

- (1) Rálya ghem="thieves" { „ Rálya" (Panjabi "ralná" = to join), spelt "rála" further on and "kála" in the dialect of the Baurias. "Rálya ghem" are two words for "thieves."

(2) Nobu = "jimmy," (3) nohal = "the point of a lance, or spade" [applying the rules of transmutation to be found further on, "nohal," which should be "nahl," becomes "phal" = a spade], (4) ban = "boring instrument" [either from "bhannaná" = "to break"; "bhannan" = "instrument for breaking" (*vide* Bauria dialect) or Panjabi "sann" = "breach,"—*vide* Rules of Transmutation] are professional terms. (5) Nojna = "gold" = nona = sona (we have "bona" for "sona" in No. 65). (6) Néleán = "gold mohurs"; (7) Baluá ya phatiá = "rupee." "Baluá" is wrong; it is spelt "balwa" in No. 41. It should be "balewa," the Panjabi for articles of value, jewelry, &c. It has acquired the meaning of a rupee in the slang of thieves. "Berea" and "berua" are the names for rupee in the dialect of Changars. The meaning of "balewa" is clear in the ordinary phrase "Bast balewa sambh lo" = "Take care of your valuables." (8) Nekaúni = "nose-ring" is a dialectic word (what is worn on the "nák"). The nose-ring has many dialectic names in different parts of the country, and what the author has taken as the thieves' slang for various ornaments are merely the different Panjabiequivalents for them. (9) Chilákni = "nose-pendant"; (10) kodah = "hansli"; (11) dhágan = "bangles" (compare "kangan" = "wristlet"); (12) rupra = "cloth" (compare "kapra"); (13) táпки = "turban"; (14) deni = "sheet" are either slang or dialectic, but when we come to the sentences we can clearly see how much is the result of fabrication by thieves anxious to conceal their purpose.

(15) Nahnáni tháon kúdmí ásaryá = "The man has come from that place." Notice now "kúdmí" for "admi" and "asarya" for "aya" and compare Panjabi "Faláne tháon admi aya" ("tháon" is the remnant of the old Sanscrit ablative), and proceed to unravel this so-called dialect. Analyse the following:—

(16) "Kogtá neth ke khaule bun lagti" is translated "He is a rich man, and is a good place to break the house"; but this is not so. We have had a guttural prefixed to a vowel in "admi," and we notice its insertion in "kogtá," which, therefore, is "kehta," or "he says." Now what does he say?—"Neth ke khaule bun lagti" = "In the house of the 'neth' a 'bun' may be applied." "Bun" is an evident misspelling of "ban," which we have already had for "a boring instrument." The translation is "He says that a jimmy may be applied to the house of the Seith" (= Seth = "merchant"). Notice, however, the substitution of "s" for "n" and proceed to the third sentence, after comparing the above with the Panjabi equivalent "Kanhda Seth ke kóthe sann lagdi." The termination "e" in "khaule," which should be "khole," and in "kothe" is the remains of the old locative. "Kholá" in Panjabi means "the ruins of a house," and is sometimes contemptuously used for "house" also.

(17) Nanookh nilyánki nahre nutte hue = "The boxes are filled with gold mohurs." "Nanookh" is "sanduk," vulgarly pronounced "sanuk"; "nahre" is "bhare" = "filled"; "nutte" is "sutti." Panjabi: "Sandukh nilyanki (?) bhari, sutti hoa." "Nilyan" is probably "tehlí," "purses," as in No. 42.

(18) "Náubo lepesaryán," or, as I read, "Nabo lepsarian" = "Bring the jimmy," or instrument for house-breaking. Now, take "sar" to be an

interpolated syllable in "asarya" for "aya" and the above "lepsarian" becomes "lepian," or, as I take it, "labian," which is Panjabi, or simply "lao." However, to be sure we must proceed to the next sentence.

(19) Machgimián jasarna = "We are going to steal." This is not quite exact. Whatever "mach" may be, "gimián" is clearly either "theft" or "to steal" (compare "ghem," the only genuine word in the vocabulary so far). Now cut out "sar" in "jasarna" and we have "ma[ch] gimián jana" = "We are going out for theft." The "ch" is the sound prefixed to "gimian." The sentence really is "Ma chagemian jasarna."

(20) Baláthi lepesaryán = "Bring the lathi or club." This is left out in the Urdu and in the original, but it was in the manuscript I saw. Here "ba" is put before "lathi," and our old friend "sar" in "asaryan" and "lepesaryan" turns up again. This sentence is simply "Lathi lao" or "Láthi lai á."

(21) Kirge nad jasarna? = "To which village are you going?" The Urdu has "To what village is he going?" unless "jata" is a misprint for "jana"; but, with the exception of "nad," with which many are familiar, the sentence requires no further explanation. *Panjabi*: "Kere nád jannai" or "janda." "Nád" is used by Changars and others for house or village.

(22) Thoki jasro ban marí lo = "Sit down and then break the house." *Panjabi*: "Tik jáó sann már lo."

(23) To loon hún, thoukdá = "Do thou break the house; I am careful." This might mean "Do thou break the house; I do not care to do so myself"; but it does not. The Urdu has "Apply the boring instrument; I, being careful, am sitting"; but neither translation is correct.

(24) Mainu nauhdi na jasaryán nakrá roghyán = "Don't leave me and go away, but be careful." The Urdu is much the same, but the translation is "Don't go without me; remain steadfast." "Roghyan" is "rehna" and "nakra," "takra." So we have had "n" substituted already for "s," "b" and "t," and a guttural interpolated before a vowel or an aspirate. Literally the sentence is "Me behind not go; steadfast remain." *Panjabi*: "Mainnu chhad ná jáyin, takrá rahin."

(25) Je tú khindasí jasaryán baláthi nauhdí jasaryan = "If thou art going, leave the club." Add "behind" and the translation is correct enough, or literally "If you are going away from here, lathi leaving behind, go." Compare *Panjabi*: "Je tu nass jáyen, láthi chhadd jáyin" = "If you are running away, leave the lathi."

(26) Channe kí ohhúe kaigí asre rahrá rahó = "Stand at the mouth of the breach." Here obviously "rahrá" is "kahrá"; "kaugi" seems to me to be "kogi" for "hogi" by a rule already referred to, and we now learn that "r" is substituted for "k"; the whole sentence therefore is merely "Jehan kí ohhué(?) hogí, asre kahrá rehó," or "Where there will be an aperture (owing to the fixing of the boring instrument) remain standing," or "Ban kí bue hoi auke, khara raho." Compare *Panjabi*: "Channe ke bue agge ae, khará rahin." "Búhá" (pronounced almost as "búá") means door. "Channa" in Panjabi means the side wall of a house. Perhaps "chana" is here for "sann" = the breach. *Vide* also "choain" for breach in the Domna dialect.

(26 b) Kunder khajagate núnje nahin = "They are awake inside, and not asleep." "Kunder" is simply "andar" with the guttural, as usual, prefixed; "khajagate," which should be "kajagate," is simply "jagte" with the guttural prefixed. "Nunje" in this sentence is either Panjabi "úng" = nodding from sleep, or from "nind" = sleep. Children are in the habit of puzzling each other very much in the same way.

(27) *Khaitá khujagta kundar* = "A man is awake inside." "*Khaitá*" further on in sentences 85, 91, &c., is "villager," "landlord"; here it is "a man." It is possibly simply "jatt." Compare *Panjabi* "*Jat jagtai andar*" = "The jat is awake inside."

(28) *Khaití chaudi nahri lál nohti nahin* = "The old woman never sleeps the whole night." This should be "The old jat woman does not sleep the whole night"; for apply the rule of the substitution of "n" for "s" and this grand dialect becomes "*sári lál sóti nahin*," and we have only "*lál*" for "*rát*" to wonder at. Compare with *Panjabi*: "*Jatti buddhi sári rát saundi nahin*."

(29) *Khaiti chamtiár hai cheti nunji jáú* = "The woman is young; she will be soon asleep." "*Cheti*," I should hope, will offer no difficulty to any Panjab officer. The sentence is simply the Panjabi "*Jatti mutiár hai chheti ungh jáú*." "*Chamtiar*" is a mistake for "*chamutiar*." Omitting the "*cha*" according to the rules, we have "*mutiár*," the Panjabi for "a young woman."

(30) *Khaiti, khaitá núnjihain bani ki khátá nahín lagan deuti* = "Both the man and the woman are asleep; there is no chance of going into the house." This should be "She, he are asleep (*nunji hain*); to apply the *ban* into the *hata* is not (possible)." Evidently these are two sentences, which, as well as "*nunjihain*," should be separated. I doubt the accuracy of the transliteration and merely read "*Ban ki hata nahin lagn deti*." If "*hain*" were "*nahin*," the sense would be clear, *viz.*: "The man and woman are *not* asleep; there is no chance of applying the bore to the *hata*." In *Panjabi* "*Jatti, Jatt unghé nahin bhannan ki ghát nahin lagan deti*." "*Kháta*," if not "*háta*," may be = *ghát* = occasion, opportunity, and the above sentence would be shortened by the words "to the *háta*."

Our *enfants terribles* are again puzzling one another and say :

(31) *Bib kyá nala lo?* = "Now what is your intention?" "*Bib*" is for "*ab*"; "*nala*" for "*salah*," or "*Ab kya sala?*" = "What is the advice now?" "*Lo*" we will leave for the present. *Panjabi*: "*Ib kya salá hai?*"

(32) *Lál náhrí rogí khopra khadan charhi ayo* = "The remaining part of the night is very short; the day has commenced to dawn," with our key above resolves itself into "*Rát sari rehi, uper din charhi áya*," which requires no translation. In *Panjabi* "*Rat sári hogai, upron din charh aya*." The next sentence inspires terror :

(33) *Bagair logge khachij khota asarti* = "You cannot gain anything until you intend to sacrifice your life," or "there are no gains without pains." In applying my rule the sentence resolves itself into "*Bagair lagé chiz khoi ati?*" = "Without applying (oneself) anything comes?" or *Panjabi* "*Bagair lagé chij hath áti?*"

(34) *Nakre hopi jasrau* = "Be on the alert." I read it "*Takre hoke jao*." *Panjabi* "*Takre ho jao*."

(35) *Lo balathián khes ná lagge* = "Hit him with the club, but be careful about his head." The *Panjabi* "*Lo láthian kesi na lagge*" will explain the meaning. "*Kes*" in Panjabi means the hair of the head (Sanskrit "*kesh*"), and is sometimes applied to the head itself, as the Dums and others say in praying for one's health: "*Kesin sasin khair!*"

(36) *Chhúá nohrí nauhatto* = "Break open the door." *Panjabi*: "*Búhá tor sutto*."

(37) *Chau kódmí chúí kaugi rugho* = "Let four men stand here on the door." I read "*Cha admi búi hoke raho*," or perhaps "*rakho*." *Panjabi*: "*Chár admi búhe agge raho*."

(38) Dhor kundar jasarte hain = "Two are going inside." The same key reveals "Do andar jate hain."

(39) Tharman pangíwalá kúndar asre = "Let the third come who has got fire" (is obvious). "Traimán" for "tíja" (Sanskrit "tritiya") is dialectic in the western part of the country.

(40) Pangi khujláwe = "Light the lamp." I should think "Light the fire." "Pangi" is "ag" or "angi"; "khujláwe" is "jaláwe" with the usual "khu" prefixed.

(41) rupra chonpá; balwá chgaina kaugi nahin = "There are lots of clothes, but no cash or jewelry." Here "k" is changed into "r," "rupra" being simply "kapra." "Chgaina" is merely "gena" with *ç* prefixed. *Panjabi*: "Kapra sohná, balewagaina koinahin." "Chonpá" is either "sohná," which, though it means beautiful, can be used in the above sense also, or it is "chokha" = much, which is a dialectic word used in the south-western part of the Panjab.

(42) Nage kí dhore nehlián labián = "We have found two purses of copper coins" = "Také kí do thailián labhian" (*Panjabi*). Compare this "nehlian" with "neleán" in No. 6, where it was rendered as "gold mohurs." In the original both are spelt alike. I doubt the correctness of "neleán" meaning "mohurs"; the word, when used alone, often simply means great wealth. Compare the Panjabi phrase "Kí tainún thailián thiá gayyán?" = "What treasures have you found? = What benefit have you derived?"

(43) Nohári bauri pauden—rálá kúndar chekri lená = "May your daughter be damned; our companion has been caught inside" is probably "Tuari kúri phu den, rálá andar pakri lena." "Rálá" is "thief," or rather "one of our people"; but I believe the sentence is of a more erotic, or rather obscene, character than would be supposed from above. *Panjabi*: "Thuádi kuri choden, rálá andar phar liá."

(44) Rálíó lo baláthián kerá chawela naukdé ho = "Take your clubs and be careful; what are you all waiting for?" It would have been a good thing if the author or his assistant had punctuated the sentences, or separated words as I have done for him. The sentence is simply "Rálíó! lo lathián. Kéra wela dekte ho?" = "O robbers! take your lathis. What time are you looking for?"

(45) Nohro rála nautí geogá khandsí jasro = "(Hear) ye chums! the thief has been let loose; let us go." *Panjabi*: "Yáro! rálá chhutt giya; khind (nass) jáo." "Khandsi" was "khindi" in No. 25. It may be "nassi" from "nassna" = to run away, or "khindi" from Panjabi "khindna" = to scatter, and not "hianse" = from here.

(46) Rojh khujáo = "Be careful and leave no tracks behind" ["rojh" = "khuj" = footprints]. *Panjabi*: "Khoj khunjhao."

(47) Kharká víán chekri lo kothín rahdi jasro = "Take up your shoes in your hands and be off at once." "Kharká víán" seems a mistake; the original has *کھڑکے جوتے*, apparently *one* word. *Panjabi* = "Jutian phar lo hathin; udd jáo,"—words often used by Panjabis when preparing for a flight. "Khothin" is the same word as "kohta" in No. 33. The termination "in" in "khothin" and "hathin" is another relic of the ancient locative.

(48) Dhúr kodmí jhuk jasro thike asro = "Let two men bury the property in the ground." "Jhuk" should be "jhak." *Panjabi*: "Do ádmi jhab jao dabi áo." Here is another mistake in transliteration: instead of "thiki" the original has "nhaki," which may be "dabke" or "dharke." "Jhuk" is probably "jhab" = "soon."

(49) Kagon kí rabar lepeki lohítí lapangrah = "We will dig the property after looking about our houses." This is altogether incorrect. "Kagon" is "gaon" or "gheron"—anyhow a plural; "rabar" is "khabar"; "lepeke" is "leke." In other words, "We will take it after knowing [what is going on] at

home." Notice that combinations of letters with "p" are being interpolated, as if the author had got hold of another Sansi with another puzzle. *Panjabi*: "Gheron ki khabar lai ke loot lāwange."

(50) Lepī chalo. Khaule kaun honā asarya? = "Take it with us; there will be no one at home." The sentence is "Lē chalo; khoti kaun hona aya?" = ["No," in answer to previous order, "do not leave the property, but"] "take it along; who will have come to our houses?" I suspect that "khaulo" is simply a wrong spelling of "kholi" for "kōti" = "house." *Vide* No. 16. *Panjabi*: "Lāin chalo, kothin kaun hona āyā?"

(51) Hamko kānge larkātā hai, lālī ka nāhane dār asarya ho = "Why art thou going to betray me? perhaps the Deputy Inspector came last night." This should be = "Why do [you] get us caught (?); at night the Thanedār must have come" [to bribe you or talk you over]. *Panjabi*: "Hamko kion pharātā hai? rat ko Thanedār āyā hōsī."

(52) Nanāó kogī khole to nahin asarya? = "Well! did anyone come into the house?" should be "Let us hear, did some one not come to the house?" This will be obvious from the application of my rules, *viz.*, "nanāó" is "sunao"; "kogī" is "koi"; "khole" is "koti"; "to" is the same; "nahin" is the same; "asarya" is "aya" (eliding *sar*).

(53) Rahher sallāhe kaugī nahin asarya = "It is all well; no one has come." This is simply "Khair salah; koi nahin aya." [Apply rules.]

(54) Lale apne khaiti naukídāre naukha se chhato to hárgí kíрге gangi = "The lambardar and the watchman came last night and enquired where all the men were gone to." "Naukha" is wrong. It should be "nóchha" for "puchha" = "asked." "Se" should be "si"; "to hárgí" is one word "tohargi" or "toari" = "thy." In fact, the sentence is "Rati apne khoti choukidar pucha si chao tuari kete gaye" = "At night in the house the chaukidar asked: thy man where has he gone?" "Chhato" is "chao," explained elsewhere "chap." It is the same as "Chhutta" for "Sansi" in No. 85. If "Khaiti" is "Jat," the sentence would be "Ratin apne Jat chowkidar puchhá si: chhatto toāre kidhar gae?" = "At night our Jat chowkidar was asking 'where are' your Sansis (chaps) gone to?"

(55) Náhne dār chalāe nahna gaugī = "The Deputy Inspector called them and they are gone to the police station." "Náhne dār" should be one word. "Náhna" is "thanna." The rest is obvious. "Thanedār bulāe thāne jao."

(56) Rehar sallá lappe asran = "Everything is all right, bring the property." "Rehar sallá" was spelt "Rahhar sallāhe" a few lines before; but this is a minor fault in a compilation which does not display the smallest thought or care. The sentence is "Khair salah, le ao," or "All right, bring it." "Asran" should be "asrau," as in the original.

(57) Chhagami chhandí lo apne khole jasro = "Share the spoil and let us go home." This is "Gemi chandi lo, apne koti jao" = "Take your share of the theft and go to your house." "Chhandi lo" = "band lo."

(58) Khadná ná chhando kogī naukhe = "Don't divide the spoil during the day; perhaps some one might spy us." I take "khadná" to be "khadina" or "dine" = "by day," with the usual surplusage of "kha" prefixed. Thus "By day do not divide; some one may see." Here "d" is changed into "n" in "naukhe," which should be "nokhe" or "nekhe."

(59) Lál ko nádih nunjī jasargáh chhandílo = "We will divide the spoil in the night when all are asleep in the village." It is more correct "At night when the village is asleep take your share." "Chhandílo" should be "chhand lo." *Panjabi*: "Rát ko pind saun jáúga band leo."

(60) *Khaito nádá kôdmí nunjí gogí chhandflo* = "Come, let us divide it now, the people are all asleep." "*Khaito*" should be "*khutto*." The sentence is "*Utho, nadke ademi so gaye*" = "Get up! the people of the village have gone to sleep, let us divide." *Panjabi*: "*Uttho, pind de ádmi saun gae, band lo*."

(61) *Mairge dabyáne nahin kisikí khauli tharí chhagamí ná khagli jáwe* = "I am not responsible if this is found in any one's house." This should be "*Mere dabyani nahin (agr) kisiki koti tuari gemi nikali jawe*" or "*na li jawe*" = "It will not be my look-out if your booty is taken out from any one's house."

(62) *Jiske khaule chhagame khagli jáwe, naú thàun na kogí lappe apne khesa jhele* = "If this stolen property is found in any one's house, let him not name others, but bear it on his own head." "*Naú*" = "name"; "*jhele*" should be "*jhelle*." *Panjabi*: "*Jiske koti gemi nikli jáwe náun tháun na koi labe, apne khesin jhelle*."

(63) *Dehnián chaláo bonáe lappí jáwe* = "Call the Hindu shopkeeper that he may take away the jewelry." "*D*" is here for "*b*"; in fact the misspelt "*dehnián*" is simply "*bania*." The author, as usual, forgets how he has spelt the same word before. *Panjabi*: "*Banián buláo sona láí jáwe*."

(64) *Denián rachrá hai baníará chalái lo nahlá chhamáns khochá kodmí hai* = "The shopkeeper is a deceitful villain; the goldsmith is a good man; call him and let him have it." This is not quite correct. It should be "The shopkeeper [receiver of stolen property ?] is a bad man. Call the goldsmith; he is a worthy good man." The rest is not there, though it is no doubt in keeping with the rest of the sentence. "*Nahlá chamáns*" should be "*nhalachamáns*" for "*bhalamáns*"; "*khocha*" is "*achcha*." Compare *Panjabi*: "*Bania khachra hai, Suniárá buláe lo, bhalamáns achha ádmi hai*."

(65) *Bone ká naho tumte naola to nahín nab khujántey hain* = "The rate of gold is not hidden from you; it is well known, I am sure." Not exact. "*Bone*" is "*sona*"; "*naho*" is "*bau*"; "*naola*" is "*bhula*"; "*nab*" is "*sab*"; "*khujantey*" is "*jante*" [*vide* rules]. Therefore "You have not forgotten the rate of gold: all know it" = "*Sone ka bhau tumse bhula to nahín, sab jante hain*" (this sentence is an old friend).

(66) *Chattú tu káheko larpatá hai khutolá boná naulá nahogá natárah hogá* = "What is the use of struggling; a tola of gold will be about sixteen or seventeen rupees worth." The sentence should be: "Be quiet; why do you quarrel; a tola of gold, if not sixteen, will be seventeen," or in vernacular "*Kaeko larte ho, tola sona sola na hoga satára hoga*," *viz.*, "*khutola*" is "*tola*"; "*naula*" or rather "*nóla*" is "*sola*" = sixteen; "*natárah*" is "*satara*" = seventeen; "*bona*" is "*sona*" as above. "*Chattu*" if not "*chùp*" = "be quiet" is "*chap*," "*man*," as elsewhere.

(67) *Khujárá kháre ka khatola bharse dhur ther phattíl banára bhí damal thi* = "Well, friend, it was eighteen rupees per tola, but I had to pay two or three rupees to the goldsmith as well." The sentence is as follows:—

"*Khujáro*" for "*yáro*" = "O friends!"

"*Kháre ka*" should be "*kahareka*" for "*atareka*" = "at eighteen."

"*Dhur ther*" = two, three.

"*Phattíl*" = "rupees."

"*Banára*" = "goldsmith" for "*soniará*" (spelt "*boniárá*" above).

"*Bhi damul thi*" = "also had to be given" ("*damul*" should be "*demni*" for "*deni*" = "to give").

Panjabi: "*Járo tháran ka tóla bhar si par du tin phattil sonáre bhi demne the*." *Dhur-par* = "but."

(68) *Nunj par khichále ka bouna khunji áyá wathou rabr asreege* = "We have received the information that you have sold the property for Rs. 45." This should be:

"Nanj par chali ka buna kinj aya woh thaun rabr asregi," or literally :
 "Panj upar chalis ka sona bech ,, othon khabr ayi "; or (*Panjabi*)
 "Panj par cháli ka sona bech áyá othon khabar ágayi."

(69) Je to nápe khissa dapí to hon jharkvaí dipon = "If you do not give me my share, I will have you caught." "p" is here added to "na," "da," "di." The sentence is "Je tu na hissa de, to hun pakarwa-dun" or "pharwá deon" (*Panjabi*).

(70) Je depí de khochí kohleni = or rather "Ji dípi dí, khuji kholey-yen" = "It would be better for you to give me the portion that comes to my lot." Better "What you [have to] give, give, will be good."

(71) Wekk wari nahin khes wárf já bol ; jehra khesá depna se depí chorá = "Not once, but twenty times, if you like you can go and give the information ; whatever I wanted to give you I have given you." "Khes" for "bis." *Literally* : "Ek vari nahin, bis vari, jáo bólo ; jera hissa dena si, de chera" = "Not once, but twenty times, go inform ; what share I [had to] give, I have given [and] left."

(72) Ninháni dar ko giní kogíditta naraná naraná ghem hai = "Some one has informed the Deputy Inspector that so-and-so are the thieves." This should be "Nanedar-ko kogne kogditta nirané nirané ghém hai," or in vernacular "Thanedár-ko koi-ne (kine) keh ditta : filaná filaná chôr hai" = "Some one has told the Deputy Inspector that so-and-so is a thief."

(73) Bour kin koginá tha jisko khéssá nahin dipá ; nerí nathhe ká ghem jin jáe jadáe dipá, nanhaní dá asre goga = "No one knows anything about it ; one of your companions informed the Deputy Inspector, and thus it became known." This is quite incorrect ; for the sentence is : "Who else could have told ? The man who did not get his share, the thief who was along with you must have gone to the Thanadár."

"Bour" = "our" ; "kin" = "kaun" ; "kogina" = "kehna." "Aur kaun kehna tha, jisko hissa nahin di, teri sathhi ka chôr," &c. *Panjabi* : "Aur kin kahna tha, jisko hissa nahin dia, teri sáth ka ghem jin jae jatá díá, Thanedar ae giya."

(74) Chamolkán bích kúk laggi gogí nará chamulak asrí goga = "Oh ! it is well known all over the world, and there is a crowd now flocking in by this time." *Literally* : "The report will have spread into the district ; the whole district (mulk) will have come." Thus : "Chamalkan (or "chamulkan" = "mulkan") kuk (= "huk") lagi hogi sare mulk ai hoga." *Panjabi* : "Mulkh bieh. kúk lagg gae, sára mulkh ae giya." "Kúk" in Panjabi means "noise."

(75) Ban depí dán khichde = "Even if you give up the property you will not escape." Should be "Ban dipi, dan [nahin ?] kijdi" = "Giving up loot, soul is saved." "Kijdi" is "bachdi" ; "dan" is possibly "ján," but a "nahin" seems to be necessary in order to save the author's translation.

(76) Nenháne dárko khes báule khabadí depí do = "Give about Rs. 20 to the Deputy Inspector as a bribe." Should be "Nenhanedarko" &c., &c. ; there is no "about" in the thief's injunction. "Khabadi" is "badhi," which means "bribe" in Panjabi. The persistence of the author in dividing "Nenhane dar" and adding other syllables to "dar," as if it were a separate word, shows that he could scarcely have looked over his "copy" after twenty-five to twenty-six years of supposed labor.

(77) Thará khaiknewala nôkhdá hai = "The Munshi wants something." "Khaiknewala" should be "kiknewala" for "likhnewala" = "the scribe" ; "nakta" or "nankta" is "mankta."

(78) Chog pattí bas ko de pí do, náhrá nehána kharaji hopí geaugá = "Give four rupees to him also, and then the whole batch of them will be satisfied."

Here the interpolation of "pí" is quite clear in "depí do" for "dedo"; "basko" is "usko"; "nehra" or "nara" is "sara"; "kharáji" is "ráji." *Panjabi*: "Chár phatti (?) usko dei do, sára Tháná ráji ho jáuga."

(79) Nenhanedar dhor ghem jhaingta = "The thanedar wants two thieves." "Jhaingta" for "mankta"; "nokda" also for "mankta."

(80) Nahlá kaule ke khaiti ke chhándi dalí dipo = "Conspire with some landlord and put the stolen property in his house." This is quite incorrect. It should be "Nalako leke kheiti ke koli chandi dalí dipo" = "Taking advice, in the house of a ploughman the booty put, throw." Thus "Nalako (= salahko) leke kheiti ki koti chhándi dal do." The author has made the affix of "nala" and the first syllable of "leke" a new word, which he then misspelt "kaule."

(81) Nenhánedár jhaddi wele narí geogá = "The Deputy Inspector has gone out since the morning to catch the thieves." Should be "The Thanedar has gone out early." I do not find "to catch the thieves" in this sentence. The Urdu has also "Thanedar fajr ka sowar ho choron ke pakarneko gya." *Panjabi*: "Thánedár charhde wele bahr giya."

(82) Tharí chaghainí nenhánedár khabadi lepi ky nij leke khole khigli = "Your theft has been turned up by the Deputy Inspector, what things have been found in your house." The Urdu has "their houses." The original thieves' language has "Tahari chagemi nanhedár kehde kia nîj leke kholí kigli," which is not the same thing. *Panjabi*: "Thári ghemi thanedar kadh lai ki chij leke (?) kothi nikli."

(83) Chánde khigli bour kaunggi nahín khiglia = "Some basins have been found and nothing else." *Literally*: "Chhandi nikli aur kutsh nahín nikli." *Panjabi*: "Bhándé niklé; hor kuchh nahín niklia."

(84) Dhúr ghem nenhanedar chikrí leepe nenhanedar nihánkí nahn ke chagmí chagta hai = "The Deputy Inspector has caught two thieves whom he is extorting to give up the booty." This should be "The Thanadar has caught two thieves; he wants the theft got from this place." "Nihanki nahn ke" is merely misspelling the same word twice. *Panjabi*: "Do ghem thanedar pakar lae, thanedar unhánki ghemi mangta hai."

(85) Khaite ko gate nenhánedár kogí chagaimí chhuttu kaule asrí khimí hamko kangí lohtá = "The villagers are telling the Deputy Inspector not to maltreat them, as the stolen property is in the possession of the Sansís." This should be "Kheti kokehte nenhanedarko ki chaghaimi chattu koli asre, aime hamko kangí lohta?" Here again the author has run portions of one word into another, and thus formed new words of his own. It is simply "Kéhti kehte thanedarko ki ghemi chattu (chorón ki?) koti ayi, aimé hamko kiún marta" = "The villagers tell the Thanadar that the theft has been recovered in a thief's (Sansi's) house, why do you beat us?" "Khemí khími" may be "hamé hamé" and "hamko," the Urdu translation, mixed up by the author. The Urdu has "why does he beat us?" The supposed Sansi has no "khimí" twice. *Panjabi*: "Jatt kehte Thánadárko ki: ghemi Chhuttu (?) kole áé, aimé hamko kiun lootta?"

(86) Bek ghem chekrá nenháne khindsi gengá dhúr khánta sé = "Of the two apprehended robbers, one absconded from the way and the other from the station." This should be = "One thief was caught and fled from the Thana; two (or "the second"?) from the road." "Genga" is probably misprint for "geoga" = "gaya." *Panjabi*: "Ek ghem pakrá thane nass giya, dusra rastá-se." "Khanta" perhaps should be "khansta" = "rasta."

(87) Nenhánedár rulaká geaugá ghem lo labne = "The Deputy Inspector has gone since yesterday in search of the delinquents." *Literally*: "The Thanadar went yesterday to catch the thief." "Rulaka" should be "ralka" for "kalka."

(88) Nutnán upar chhabaíree wálon chekrí líná = "The thieves were caught by the boatmen when crossing the ferry at the river." This translation may be correct enough, but the sentence is merely—"On the ferry the boatmen caught (him, them?)." The original should be "Nathan upar chabahrewalon chakri lina" = "Pattan-par bahrewale pakar liya." "Nutnán" should be "nattan" for "pattan."

In the event of any officer using A. G.'s vocabulary and accentuating the words according to the accents used, the intonation would be a false one, and constant reference would be required to the Urdu translation and the "Zeban asli," with a result to make confusion worse confounded.

An interlinear translation is absolutely necessary in order to make the work of any use and to detect its errors in every sentence.

(89) Galgí bogne se khajjí bor bogná aí gya khulake wich nabghem chekrí lea = "We escaped from the first peril, but this seems another, as all the thieves of the district are being caught." [This, by the way, is impossible even to the Panjab Police.] The sentence, however, is: "Gagli," not "galgi," for "agle" = "former"; "lugí, lui" = "peril" (?); "khajjí" = "bachí" = "saved"; "bur" = "our" = "another" [should be "bôr" for "ôr"]; "bogná" = "peril"; "ai gya" = "has come" [the Sansí has: "arí the gya"]; "khula ke wich" should be "khalake-wich" for "A'laké wich" = in the district or Ilaqa; "nab" = "sab" = all. The whole = "Saved from a former peril, another peril has come. In the Iláka all thieves are caught" = "Agle bogne se bachí aur bogna agya, ilaka wich sab ghem [chór] pakri lea." There is something wrong about "bogná" which is here "peril" and simply "apna" in No. 93.

(90) Kot khadna nûlsán kánáb asrígá kange to jung nohtí kango hong redh = "The Superintendent of Police will be here after eight days; then some of the men will be discharged and some convicted." Here again carelessness is displayed. "Nulsan" is "nulisan" for "pulisan" = "police." "Kánáb." The "ka" belongs to "nulis," and the second syllable is a word by itself, viz., náb. "Náb" is "Sáb" or "Sahib." "Khadna" ought to be "khadana." The sentence therefore is—"Ath din Police-ka Sahib awéga, káe to jaenge chhut, káe to honge reid" [for "qaid"] = "some will be let go, some will be imprisoned." *Panjabi*: "Ath dinán (nu) Pulsan ka Sahib aegá, kaé ta jange chhut, kaé honge qaid." "Nohti" should be "nuth" = "chhut."

(91) Jinkíankhaite chahgwáían depían nohti jas ran = "Those will escape about whom the landlords shall speak favourably." Here, under the impression that the whole conversation is about finding property in a man's house, the "khaiti" is turned into a landlord. The word has been run together, and should be—"Jinkian = jinki; khaite = khéti; chaghwaian = gawaian = testimonies; nohti = chutt = set free; jasran = will go" = "Those whose testimony the villagers will give, will be released." "Nohti" is not "nasna" = "to escape" or "run away," as the author seems to think.

(92) Mārgí chagwàí kin depni? = "Oh! who will speak on our behalf?" *Literally*: "Mari gawai kaun deni?" = "Who will give my testimony?" Why the acute accent of the second "a" in "chagwai" has changed here into a grave accent, the compiler or printer, who has been so profuse with them, should be asked.

(93) Hon bogna nabre laipí khandsi jasnán bokre ki khiraj = "Cashmir is an independent State, and I will escape thither with my family." This political knowledge is certainly creditable to a Sansi, though the statement is not altogether in accordance with fact. As it happens, nothing of the kind is said. The sentence is simply—"Hun apna tabar leike, hianse jawan Dogre ki ráj" = "Now our family taking, let us go hence into the Dogra Ráj." Thus "hon" should be "hun." "Bogna" is a mistake for "khapna" = "apna." "Nabre" should be "nabar" for "tabar." The rest is clear. Apply rules.

(94) Kirge jasnán nortá nahín binto narangíán tún bokrá chhak nahin = "Go anywhere you like, it is hard to escape; the Dogra is also under the British dominion." The sentence really is—"Wherever you go, he will not drop

you, the frontier (?) of the Franks is not separate from the Dogra." "Norta" for "chhorta" = "let go." "Narangían" is "Firengian" = "Franks or Firengis," and not "naregian" as in the supposed Sansi.

(95) Bori chomolak khandsi cháló ráulake nahaneke khades = "We would rather go and beg titbits in the country of Kabul or the Afghans than stop here." This seems quite wrong, and the first part to have been copied by mistake. "Bori" is "ori" = "another"; "chomolak" is "chomulk" = "mulk" = "kingdom"; "khandsi" is probably a mistake for "khabindse" = "Hindse" = "from India," or else the ordinary "híanse," if not a corruption of "nassna" = "to run away." "Ráulake" appears to be a mistake for "Rawalke" = "Kabulke"; "nahaneke" another mistake for "Nathane" = Pathan. [Hitherto "nahane" has been "thanna" and it is rather confusing to have it as Pathan.] "Khades" should be "ka dês." Here the compiler becomes parsimonious with his accents much to the confusion of the meaning. "Khades" is not one word. "ka" belongs to the former word; "dês" is a word by itself. "We would rather go and beg titbits" I find nowhere, and if my corrections as to the rest are wrong, there is no meaning at all to be extracted from the sentence. The Urdu has "We will obtain food by disguising ourselves as Nats in the Ilaka of Kabul in the kingdom of the Pathans." The supposed Sansi is too full of misprints to be of any good. The real meaning is simply "We will go hence into another country, (say) into Kabul or the land of the Pathans." *Panjabi*: "Hor mulk nass chalo, Kabul ke Pathanon ke dês" = "Let us bolt into another country, Kabul, the land of the Pathans."

(96) Nerne chamne dímanghre = "We will ask alms and live like beggars there." The supposed Sansi original has "Nirni chhamenñi dimangri." The Urdu "Nat bankar guzára kerenge." Sawel Das's vocabulary might throw some light on this difference between the two originals and the two translations.

(97) Butch chamolak chekri lene boghe mîrgí nulâ chammno apni chamolak ragho nargis kange jasrau = "If perchance you are caught there you will never obtain freedom in that country. In my opinion it would be far preferable if you do not go to a foreign country." Butch = us; chamolak = mulk; chekri = pakri; lene = lene? [I think it is "lene" = if taken, not]; boghé = batche; mîrgi = meri; nulâ = salah; chammno [chamunno] = sunno = hear; or "chamanno" for "manno" = take my advice; apni chamolak ragho = apne mulk raho; nargis = hergez kahin jao, or as I read it "nargês kaige jasro." Perhaps "narges" should be "nardes" for "pardes," and "kangi" for "kiún," as in No. 85; then the sentence would be "Us mulk phakri le na (?) bachoge; meri salah manno; apne mulk raho, pardes kiun jáo." Anyhow the meaning is this: "Caught in another country [you will] not be saved; my advice listen; remain in your country; on no account go elsewhere," or "why should you go to a foreign country?" But this is a different translation from what we have in the Dictionary.

(98) Túm kodmí chekre jágre to néche nibar chamolake wich chhaígí damun = "If you are apprehended in this country, your family can live upon begging too." Not quite. This should be "O ye men! [if] you are caught, then afterwards the family in [this] country may or will beg." "Chaigi" should, I dare say, be "chigi" = "bhik" = alms. The original Sansi has "Tam kudmi, chakrí jágri, tô nêche nabar chamulk-wich chhagí dímun." Compare with *Panjabi*: "Tum ádmi phakre jáoge to pichhe tabbar mulk vich bhik (?) mángu (?)."

(99) Hún jo kogta bich chamolak khindsé chalo bib chhatúonke khajánt nach nah ge = "Was not I telling you to escape from here: now all the Sansees have been called upon to give security of Rs. 500 each for good behaviour." "Khajánt" should be "kajanat" for "zemanat" = "security." I cannot identify the "500 rupees," and read merely: "Just now (I) said: leave the country [of India?]. From all thieves [Sansis?] security will be taken (?)." Of course "nach nah" may be "500 rupees" for "panch sai," but then "ge" is the mere remnant of a

verb to be sought for, and I prefer to think that, as the compiler has been wrong throughout, he is not right in this place. Or is "nach na" really "nath no" = "sáth so" or *seven* hundred rupees? *Panjabi*: "Haun jo kauhtá bai mulko nass challo, ib chhatuonki jamánat panch sai ki" (?) If "ge" be "ki," then a verb is still wanting to complete the sentence.

(100) Khole khainsí jasro kesí nádká khaita khujá dádwalá mirig kujámaní depí jasre nahin raid hopi geogá = "Come let us go home and see if any rich landlord is willing to give security for us; otherwise we will be compelled to go to the jail." Compare "khainsi" with "khindsé" hence = híanse. The sentence is "Go home, ask some wealthy peasant of the village: give my security; if not, you will be imprisoned." Thus "kholi = koti; khindse = hianse; jasro = jao; kesi = kisi; nadka = nadka [nad = a village]; khaita = kheti; khujá [no meaning]; dádwalá [no meaning]." If, however, the words are combined then we have simply "jaidádwala" with the "khu" prefixed as a childish puzzle; thus "khujádádwala = jaidadwala; mirgi = meri; kujámaní = zamanet = security." Compare this with "khajánt" for security a minute ago. Also "raid" for "qaid." "Raid" a few sentences ago was "redh" for "convicted."

(101) Nhàre nere rúkhíán kogí khaita naránahín hobta = "We have looked all over, but could not find any one who would give our security." "Nhàre" should be "nahàre" or "náre" for "sare." "Nere" should be "nìre." "Naránahín" are two words "nará nahín." "Nara" may simply be the former "nhàre." The sentence would be "No peasant living near us will do [anything for] us." "Rukhíán" would then be "rehian," but *should* be "dekhian"; whilst "nará" should be separated from "nahin" and stand for "khará." I find no word for "security," or the equivalent for "will not be security." Compare *Panjabi*: "Bahr nere (far and near) dekhiá, koi jatt khará nahin hota" = "I have seen far and near, no Jatt stands up (for me or for us)," which is the meaning of the sentence by applying the rules of mutation.

(102) Bek khetá nirá robtà náth nobalie chagta = "One landlord is willing to stand as a security, but he wants five rupees." Quite incorrect. "He wants 700 rupees." Thus "náth" = "sáth," "no" = "sò" [apply rules of mutation]; "balie" is rupees. *Vide* words under the heading of this chapter. "Nobalie" are, therefore, two words, and not one. The Urdu of our compiler has "Panch so rupia manka hai," the "so" being written as if to escape detection. Compare with the "nach nau" of sentence 99; probably a corruption of "nath no" = 700, and a missing verb. "Nirá" is the same as "nará" in the previous sentence, *viz.*, "stands up" = "One Jat stands up (and) wants 700 rupees," *viz.*, "will be security if we give him 700 rupees."

(103) Keá kogta kergí chagesní bolkíri me jasarna = "The landlord says that if you are caught robbing anywhere, then he will be compelled to pay the money." "Keá" is no doubt a mistake for "kheta" = "the peasant" or "Jat." "Chagesni" is a misprint for "chagemi" = "theft." "Bolkíri" is probably "lo likrí." I take "likri" for "pakri" and divide it from "lo" by a comma; making thus two words out of the author's "bolkíri." His own Sansi has "Kheta kogta kergi chaghemi lo [or yo, bo?] likri, main jasarna." The original manuscript had "tum" before "kergi," and "chekra" after "lo likri." The translation is obviously: "The peasant says, if you taking theft are caught, I [will have to] go"; but the author's sentence is wrong and incomplete at the beginning and end, and unintelligible in the middle. I read it thus "Keri ghem lo, pakri main jána" = "When *you* steal, *I* will be caught."

CONCLUSION FROM ABOVE SENTENCES.

1. The above is no real dialect of Sansis or another tribe.
2. It is a mere mutation of ordinary Panjabi for criminal or jocular purposes, the rules of which are explained below.
3. There are, however, slang applications of words and slang words in it.

4. The column headed "original language" in the Urdu character does not generally correspond with the transliteration or the translation into either English or Urdu.

5. The original seems to be an incorrect copy of a badly-written manuscript, because و پ ب and ج, letters which may be confounded in a hasty transcript, are so confounded.

Rules of substitution of sounds in so-called Sansi.

The following are the general principles applicable to the specimens of the jargon which I have been at the pains of transcribing in full and criticizing in detail :

- "g" or "sar" is often interpolated between vowels, *viz.*, "kogi" for "koi," "asarya" for "aya."
- "s" of the ordinary vernacular is often changed into "b," *viz.*, "baniára" for "soniára."
- "ch" or "kha" is often prefixed to words, *viz.*, "chagawái" for "gawai"; "kharáj" for "ráj."
- "b" into "d," *viz.*, "dania" for "bania."
- "r" into "l," ,, "lali" for "ráti" = at night.
- "t" into "n," ,, "nhana" for "thana"; also "t" into "l," *viz.*, "lali" for "ráti" = at night.
- "l" into "t," ,, "kholi" for "khoti" ,, "kh" into "r," ,, "rabar" for "khabar."
- "b" for "d," ,, "bogra" for "dogra."
- "b" into "n," ,, "nhala" for "bhala" ,, "n" into "p," ,, "nocha" for "pucha."
- "ch" into "n," ,, "nouki" for "chouki" ,, "d" into "n," ,, "neke" for "dekha."
- "s" into "b," ,, "bona" for "sona" ,, "s" into "n," ,, "nola" for "sola" = 16.
- "f" into "n," ,, "nerani" for "filané" ,, "r" for "k," ,, "ral" for "kal."
- "n" for "p," ,, "nulis" for "police" ,, "u" for "s," ,, "nab" for "sab" = sahib.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I.—TERMS USED BY THE *Domne* CLASS

(*containing 32 words or sentences*).

Alas for lost opportunities ! the *Dúms* *have* a real dialect, but our compiler has gone round it without once gaining an insight into its peculiarities. (*Vide* account of their dialect elsewhere.)

(1) "Dûm" he gives as an equivalent for thief, robber, burglar. It merely means a Dûm or "one of ourselves."

(2) Hath moth = "the house-breaking instrument."

(3) Choain = "Naqb, the hole in the wall (sometimes jimmy?); boring instrument."

(4) Balláchoo = "knife."

(5) Garrá = "gold."

(6) Maltíán = "silver."

(7) Rassál = "jewelry."

(8) Kothma = "cloth of every description."

(9) Tabári = "gold mohur."

(10) Mandá = "made of silver (rupees?)."

(11) Lorakná = "all kinds of clothes mounted with gold."

Armed with these useful words, we can at once begin a conversation.

(12) Dum asria karake dás hai = "A thief has come who says that there is a lot of property in that place." A very concise language apparently to say so much in so few words. Literally, however, we have merely : "A Dúm has come; he said that there was loot." Our old friend "asria" for "aya" seems to have come over from the Sansi encampment to the Dúms' settlement. "Karaka" in Panjabi means "sound," "noise." Perhaps it may simply mean "brings a (good) report."

(13) Nurde chue lagdi = "The house is being broken towards the east." Should be "nardi" or "nardè" (= on the east (?) chue = a jimmy) lagdí (= may be put). (Chui = theft?) Is "chue" the same as the "choáin" above? Nurde = charhde = in the east. Compare "chue" in Sansi = búhe = door. In the original "chue" is "chawwe," perhaps the boring instrument. Compare with No. 3 "choáin."

(14) Leá hath moth moáchi áin marchi = "Bring the spade, we will break the house." "Hath moth" was described before as a house-breaking instrument. *Panjabi* (perhaps): "Lea hath moth choain marie." "Moáchi áin," I think, is "choáin" badly copied, and "marchi" either wrong for "marie" or with "ch" interpolated = "Bring the spade (?); strike (in) the boring instrument."

(15) Nalke challie = "Not to-day, we will go to-morrow." Not so perhaps. Nalke = kalko; chalie = go ye. *Panjabi*: "Bhalke challie" = "Let us go to-morrow."

(16) Khal men lagti chhatre maro = "It is rather difficult to break the house near the foundation; break open the roof." I read "Khal men = in the foundation (?); lagti = (the jimmy) catches; chhatre = on the roof; maro = strike it (use it)." Why not, however, assume that "nahin" has been carelessly omitted; for this would give sense and correspond with the translation thus: "Khál nahin lagdi, chatré maro." "Khal" in Panjabi means a corner.

(17) Bundu hai = "The lamp is lighting." Should be "Bandu hai" = "There is light."

(18) Búrá náge kerda = "The man is awake." *Panjabi*: "Bura jágia kardá." In the next we have—

(19) Burá nokha karda = "The little babe is crying." "Bura" seems, therefore, to be both man and little babe. "Nokha" should be "nokhta," or is it "lókha"? "Jagia kardá" for "jagdá hai" is in the dialect of Hoshiarpur. Compare "nokha" with Panjabi "jhenkhá."

(20) Hath muth benáchoo depí do jhodo hai = "Hand over the spade and knife; the box is locked up." "Jhodo" = locked up. I do not find "box." In *Panjabi* above would be "Hath muth káchu díi do jindá hai." "Benachoo" is "kácnu" = "a knife," commonly used for "cháku" by Panjabis.

(21) Mándé upe nohín kothma upe narde kahká = "There is no cash, but lots of clothes deposited towards the eastern side." [Compare this with a similar sentence in the Sansi dialect.] Literally "Mándé = rupees; úpe = much, many; nohin = [there are] not; kothma = clothes; úpe = many [there are]; narde = on the eastern side; kahka = rakha = [he has] put." The translation therefore is: "There are not many rupees, (but there are) many clothes (which he has) put on the eastern side."

(22) Dúmán raharpía khekhe karde = "Come out, men are spying us," should be "Dumán = O Dúms! Rahar = outside (bahir); pia = a = come; khekhe = dekhe = they are seeing (us)." In *Panjabi*: "Dúmo! báhr áó, bekhia karde."

(23) Rorí dás hoí jao = "Decamp with the property." In *Panjabi* "Dauri dás (?) hoí jao."

(24) Chog daume asrí jáu komale de khamkhe likhia = "Let four men go and dig out the hidden property from beneath the tree." Komale de khamkhe = kumle-de samhne (?). "Legya" might be for "likhya" = "nikalo" Compare *Panjabi*: "Chár ádmi a jáo, mál kaddh ki leáo."

(25) Badane lippí kau leppe asro = "Do not bring it in the day-time, night is the best." The Urdu has "Do not bring the property in the day-time; they will bring it at night," but I believe both translations to be wrong. The meanings given cannot be made out from this original. It is, perhaps, "Díní lippi (?)" ko leke ao."

(26) Dímán asaryá rarpí jáu mendí lippi = "The Deputy Inspector has come; escape with property." In *Panjabi*: "Dímán áyá daur jao mande lêke."

(27) Dhamái bur kanní kauní ásre hain mánkhe bahláne nád níkre hain = "Lots of Europeans and other employés have come, and two men have been caught in that village too." The original has: "Dimán búrkiasrí hain mankhe bháláne nad níkre hain," which would mean "The European(?) Deputy Inspectors have come; they caught good fellows in the village." The Urdu has "Mulazim aur Ingréz áge hain aur us gaun mein se do ademi pakri hain." *Panjabi*: "Dímán hor kinne (for "kitne-hi") áe hain, mánkhe (?) = (thieves) faláne pind phare hain."

(28) Mánkhe ke khoule kángi nahin khagliá = "All has not been found from the house of the thieves." I read rather "From the pals' house nothing has been got out." "Khoule" is "koti"; "khaglia" = "nekla." *Panjabi*: "Mankhe ke kole kuchh nahin niklia."

(29) Das wè mande loí sattó = "Give ten or twenty rupces to the detective," should be "das" = ten; "vî" for "bís" = twenty; "mandi" = rupees. *Panjabi*: "Das wih mánde (?) de satto."

(30) Bouke ke chaumál deppí denássi = "Give all the jewelry to the goldsmith and let him melt the whole." "Chaumál" is "mál" = property. *Panjabi*: "Bouki (?) (= Sahukár) komálde dená si" = "The property had to be given to the banker." There is nothing about "melting the whole."

(31) Nandú nandi debiddá nunhe ko dibgo = "Divide it in halves and give it to the shopkeepers." "Nunhe" = "banya." Compare *Panjabi*: "Adhho adh band, banié ko deo."

(32) Mande das rerá ke tha, nínjí danní kí oli jáu = "This property is worth Rs. 100; come after five days for the money." Compare *Panjabi*: "Mande das (?) rera ki hai, panj dina ko lai jaó." The meaning cannot be clearly made out from the original.

SECTION II.—TERMS USED BY ROBBERS OF THE GHANDILA CLASS

(containing 28 words or sentences).

(1) Ghem ya khem = "thief, robber, burglar," &c., &c. Name used in the Sansi dialect.

(2) Súá = "house-breaking instrument" (is pure *Panjabi*).

(3) Bán = "naqb, the breach made in the house" (as with Sansis).

(4) Khoná = "gold" (obvious for "sona").

(5) Rúpá = "silver." This is pure *Panjabi*.

(6) Toom chhaina = "jewelry of every description." "Toom" is *Panjabi*; "chhaina" is slightly disguised for "gainá."

(7) Lúgrá = "cloth." "Lingra" is *Panjabi*.

(8) Gamre chalié ghammi kari = "Come let us go to the village to steal." *Literally*: "To village go to thief." Put into a Panjabi form, the sentence would be "Gámre chalié, ghammi karie" = "O thieves! let us go, let us thief." "ra" is a Panjabi diminutive affix.

(9) Súá bijlá menu leápi de = "Bring in the spade and chub (club?)." "Sawe" wrong in Urdu. *Panjabi*: "Súá bijlá (?) mainu lea de."

(10) Ahán to làgti nahin khoche karí do = "Cannot break the wall here; we will break open the roof." Should be "Here (the jimmy) will not apply; work it on the roof." "Roof" omitted in the Urdu. Also "diwár men" omitted to correspond with the English "break into the wall." *Panjabi*: "Ahán to làgti nahin, uche kar deo."

(11) Tu houn bekh àhon andar joi áúsàn = "Do thou sit here and watch until I may go and see." "Inside" after "go" omitted in the English translation. *Literally*: "Thou sit here. I will anon go in." I cannot find "to watch" in the Ghandila. "Tu yhán dekh hón (Sanskrit "ahan") andar joi (?) áúsàn." The author's Ghandila has a Márwari accent. "Johna" in Panjabi means "to ascertain"; though this meaning would suit in the above sentence, we have the same word in the sense "to carry away" further on.

(12) Tallián andar chhun paryán = "There are lots of clothes lying inside." "Andar" left out in the Urdu. Rest obvious. "Talli" in Panjabi means "a rag."

(13) Paryán rahwàn = "Let them lie." *Literally* = "let them remain lying." The Urdu has "rehne do." "Rahwan" = "rahan" in S. W. Panjabi.

(14) Parchondá ham nahín lejána = "We would not take this kind of property." "Parchhand" means "small useless things fit to be thrown away."

(15) Mànkho andar khodto jagi paro = "The man who was sleeping inside is awakened." "Paro" in original has "pario." "Khodto" = "soto." *Panjabi*: "Manukh andar soto jág paro."

(16) Mànkhián andar jagíon karyán jura khaugle ho = "Let the women who are awake inside sleep." "Jura" should be "jera" = a little. "Khaugli" = "khoglí." *Literally*: "The women inside (who) have been awakened, let them (go) a little (to) sleep again." *Panjabi*: "Manukhián andar jágíán karian, jara haule ho." "Manukhi" for "woman" is never used in ordinary Panjabi.

(17) Khoi gya, joi lo = "They are asleep; take away the property." *Panjabi*: "Soi gae, joé lo."

(18) Boohey de wahín joe lo bakne ke wahín nahín niklta = "Take out the property from the door, if you cannot get it out through the breach." *Literally*: "Bue" for "boohey" = door; "bahne" = "bann" = instrument for boring, and also breach. *Panjabi*: "Búhe de ráhín joe lo bahni ke rahin nahin niklta."

(19) Main dhurí laddo dijlo mání menu kaddí lo = "They have caught me inside; rescue me by the means of the chubs (clubs?)." The Ghandila in Urdu letters has "Main deire laddo, bajlo mání, menu kaddi lo," which is far more intelligible, *viz.*, "I have been caught in the house (deire); save me, bring me lathis." The Urdu translation has "Lathian marke muje chhorálo." *Panjabi*: "Main dhure (= on the very spot) laddo (Panjabi 'laddha' = has been found) dijlo (the "bijla" of No. 7 has changed into "dijlo" here) nárr menu kadd lo."

(20) Mainu dakhji ná ap maraigna jai = "Do not mention my name even if you have to die." The Urdu is less exacting: "Mera nam ne lena, apne sir par lena." *Panjabi*: "Mainu dassin ná áp már ná jáen."

(21) Thánedár buláe acho, chhillar lepi challo muri geo to mari acho = "The Deputy Inspector has sent for us ; come let us go thither with some money, and if it could be managed we will satisfy him." *Panjabi*: "Thanedár buláya achcha chhillar lai challo mur giyá to mor ásan." "Chhillar" is sometimes used in Panjabi for rupee, especially in Patiala territory.

22) Mohnde máhnde ghemíaggi chhe, khubardár murwá nahín dena = "They seem to accuse me of the theft ; be on the look-out." "Murwá nahín dena" seems to be left out. The Urdu has "Mere munh chôri lage hai, khubardár rahna." The translation really is "They have laid the theft to my [door] mouth ; be careful [not to implicate me] lest I be knocked [on the head]." *Panjabi*: "Mende mohde ghemíaggi chhe, khabardár marwá nahin dena." "Mendá" = mine (old Panjabi maindá, as in the Granth "maindá sányin" = "my Lord," still used in some parts of the Province) ; "modhe" = "on shoulders" ; "chhe" = "hai." "Hai" = "is" becomes in Bángar in the Karnál district "sai," and in Márwár "chhai."

(23) Khoun ghemí karí thi = "What sort of theft did you commit?" *Panjabi*: "Kaun ghemi kari thi ?"

(24) Hánk tarorí = "I stole a hansli or the collar-belt." The Urdu has "Hansli utári thí." *Panjabi*: "Háns tori." "Torna" is in some dialects "trorna" (Sanskrit root *trud*).

(25) Jero máro ghar tho lochí ghálí àio = "Where is my property ?" The Urdu has "Jo mera asbáb tha wo kahán hai ?" *Dialectic* is "Jero mháro gha tho lochi (?) ghálí áyo ?" This "o" in "mháro," "tho," &c., is one of the peculiarities of the Márwár dialect. "Ghálna" in that dialect and in that of Bángar means "to put."

(26) Pelo het chhaggálèwon mari thuní het chhandion chit bandi khuji áo = "Some property is under the bet tree [*Ægle marmelos*], take it out and dispose it of."

(27) Bíkh nád lo, teekh chà deo = "Do not give it for twenty but give for thirty rupees." "Bik" for "twenty" and "teekh" or "tík" for "thirty" are interesting. *Panjabi*: "Bís ná lo ; tees (nu) chá deo." "Cha" for "chuk" is sometimes used before almost every verb in Panjabi, and has the force of "uthá" or English "off." The author's Ghandila sometimes speaks Márwári ; at other times, pure Panjabi.

(28) Múth noule hon beekh dokh chillár le menu makáí lo = "Give twenty or forty rupees and have me rescued." The first part of the sentence is confusing "Bís dokh (?) chhillar de, menu chhudái lo." "Bís dokh" for "forty" requires investigation. It is possibly a transposition for "dokh bís" = two twenties = forty. The Urdu has, however, distinctly twenty or forty.

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION I.—TERMS USED BY THE DELHI CHOORAS OR SWEEPERS

(containing 14 words or sentences).

The sentences under the heads of "Churas," "Harnis," "Baurias," "Minas," "Meos" and "Ahirs" are much the same, and may be solved by the application of the rules which are the key to the so-called dialect of the Sansis.

(1) Ban = "Thief, robber, burglar, pilferer, swindler," &c. This word seems to include all the previous classifications and perhaps a few more.

(2) Okhar = "House-breaking instrument."

(3) Chánd ya paiwand = "The breach made in the house (naqab)."

(4) Nánd = "House." Evidently the same as "nad."

(5) Titrí = "Woman."

(6) Mánkhá = "Man."

(7) Neta, toom = "Jewelry, ornament," &c.

(8) Baktarí = "Clothes, furniture," &c.

(9) Jánch = "The house has been well seen." This is simply "jách" from Panjabi *v. n.* "jachná" = to be examined, considered. The Urdu has "Ghar dēkna."

(10) Tál me ghóta lagtá hai = "The house is being broken" ("tal" and "ghota" seem allegorical). The meaning is: "A breach seems practicable in that house."

(11) Baktarí netá bowhut hai = "There are lots of jewelry, clothes and cash." "Bowhut" is, probably, a misprint for "bohut."

(12) Mánkhá roshan hai = "The man is awake."

(13) Mutía okas lejá = "Take away this property."

(14) Jarí liá = "Has been caught."

SECTION II.—TERMS USED BY THE SWEEPERS OF THE PANJAB (containing 23 words or sentences).

(1) Kálá = "Thief, robber," &c.

(2) Tomu = "The house-breaking instrument." Should be "tómbu."

(3) Nidí = "The breach made in a dwelling."

(4) Ganái = "Chori, robbery."

(5) Dhárkí = "Knife (chhoree)."

(6) Ratálká = "Gold."

(7) Chatálká = "Silver."

(8) Balwá, gheemta, korpá = "Rupee, a coin current in British India." ("Balwá" is a name for rupee current among thieves generally.)

(9) Chhainna = "Jewelry." Is spelt "channe" further on.

(10) Nidí láo = "Break open the door." Probably "Bring the jimmy."

(11) Kodar jasro = "Go inside." (Compare this with the so-called Sansi dialect. It is just the same.)

(12) Thúb ráu = "Sit down."

(13) Kájja áwe = "The man is coming." (Compare "codger.")

(14) Bilakná ná = "Do not speak." The original has simply "bak ná."

(15) Kurakná wagáná = "To throw a stone." ["To" superfluous?]

(16) Ratálká jagda = "The lamp is lighting." "Ratálká" was "gold" above.

(17) Kajjí togí nahin = "The woman is awake." Or perhaps "togi" for "soi" = "The woman is not asleep."

(18) Rahánká kúkna thabi = "The box is secured with a lock." "Kukna" should be "kurakna" as further on.

(19) Dhárfí de kurakná pulwa kar = "Hand in the knife to break the lock." Literally: "Give knife, break lock."

(20) Kurkní dhárfí thubbá wag ja = "Throw in the knife and stick to me before you go." "Wag ja" = "bhag jáo." There is no "before you go" in Urdu.

(21) Bilúe chhanne nohí thibbe = "Cash and jewelry are buried in the house." I cannot find "buried."

(22) Thonke kodmí = "Give it to goldsmith for money." The Urdu has "and take money." It is simply "Thunke ko dimi" = "Give it to the goldsmith."

(23) Medí kúr rakhín = "Take care of me." The "Zeban asli" has "Mendi kur rakhi."

CHAPTER V.

SECTION I.—TERMS USED BY THE ROBBERS OF THE *Harni* CASTE (containing 17 words or sentences).

- (1) Tirwa = "Thief, robber," &c.
- (2) Sandhewá = "The house-breaking instrument."
- (3) Chan ní kar lo = "Break open the house."
- (4) Ubar já = "Go inside."
- (5) Obá piá = "A box is here." The Urdu has "Sandúq rakhá hai."
- (6) Duddu nor lo = "Break the lock."
- (7) Phuliá jugdá hai = "The lamp is burning."
- (8) Thokar lo = "Come away or get out."
- (9) Thuán áta hai = "The constable is coming."
- (10) Bhorú ho challo = "Keep aside from the tray" (?) should be "Walk alone." Is "tray" for "fray"?
- (11) Phogí lekár uth gai = "They have gone away." "With the property" is omitted, viz., "phogi lékar." Why "lekár" I don't know.
- (12) Nakrá lád ho gai = "Come away, the men are awake." I do not find "come away," but merely "the men are awake."
- (13) Gho kar do = "Bury the booty."
- (14) Chhute òbe rulád thonkaríá áyá = "Bring in the buried property; the purchaser has come." I read "Chhute ober (for "uber" as above) lao" = "Bring in the theft," &c.
- (15) Chhutto wále = "Rob the jewelry from the woman's head who is asleep." "Wále" should be "wáli," and the whole sentence seems simply to be "(Here is) a woman to be robbed."
- (16) Tullíán láh le = "Take out the earrings."
- (17) Dhálí wálo = "Take out the hansli or the collar beet" (?)

SECTION II.—TERMS USED BY THE ROBBERS OF THE BAURIA CLASS (containing 19 words or sentences).

- (1) Kálá = "Thief, robber," &c. (compare with supposed dialect of Sweepers).
- (2) Bhanan = "The breach made in walls for stealing." This we have had often before as "ban" and repeatedly explained.

- (3) Serú = "House-breaking instrument."
- (4) Kát = "Knife" (compare so-called dialect of Gamblers).
- (5) Khonu = "Gold" (the same as with Ghandilas).
- (6) Nohrí áya = "Some one is coming."
- (7) Khadu sero karí lo = "Break the house."
- (8) Mawrí já = "Go inside through the breach."
- (9) Lakrí jáli juí lo = "Light the lamp and see."
- (10) Norí nukhá = "Break the lock."
- (11) Achál cháli paroumen díá = "Take this property and put it away."
- (12) Mánkho jágeo = "The man is awake."
- (13) Mansí hoti parí hán láí le, charion dorò wáhdí = "The woman is asleep; take off her collar-belt by cutting the thread with a knife."
- (14) Wár parí nassí gaio borí do = "Break the door and go away, and bury this property underneath the ground."
- (15) Chuái áparýôn koparyôn haddí kadí áí = "Go and see if that property is there; if so, bring it out."
- (16) Koparyôn becehi áí = "Take this property and dispose it of."
- (17) Mankhá jháli laddiá ghenó vech do = "The thief has been caught and the property recognized." This is not correct. It should be "The thief has been caught selling the property" = ghenó vech do.
- (18) Monkhe de ladi thana legeá = "After putting on the handcuffs he has been taken to the police-station."
- (19) Háb kanní lae giada tín barion kaid káde dí = "The case was brought up before the Magistrate and he got three years' imprisonment." This should be "Bringing it before the Sahib, he got three years' prison." "Háb" is "Sáhib."

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION I.—TERMS USED BY THE *Mina* CASTE

(containing 7 words or sentences).

- (1) Shikárí = "Thief."
- (2) Boora khosá = "The house-breaking instrument." "Boora" is "deora."
- (3) Nortá hai = "He is a rich man."
- (4) Pár dená, phor karde" or rather "kar de" = "Break open the house." "The house" is not in the sentence. The rest is obvious.
- (5) Kauá = "Constable."
- (6) Cheel = "Deputy Inspector."
- (7) Dhúr sánk = "Take the jewelry."

SECTION II.—TERMS USED BY THE *Meo* CASTE

(containing 22 words or sentences).

- (1) Mat phor* thúllá* tíkká hai = "Do not take this property, the constable is looking on," should be "Do not break (open anything or steal);" "thulla dekta hai" = "the constable is looking." "Thulla" we have had before in the Gamblers' dialect.

* Occurs also in the dialect of the Uchakkás or Thieves, Chapter I, Section III.

(2) Bahtí khá* koí sar* ná ho = "Go away or else some one will see you." "Bahti kha" is "Bhag ke ja" = "run away"; "sar" we have had before as "sir" in the Pilferers' dialect. Further on we have "sir" in the Meos' dialect also.

(3) Nethá tor le = "Take the jewelry from the head." "Nethá" is = "rupee" in the Pilferers' dialect.

(4) Chakkar torle = "Take away (rather "tear off") the earring."

(5) Nakkí tor, phúl* mor = "Take the 'nath' (nostril-ring) and 'ulaq' (should be 'buláq' = nose-pendant) from the nose." *Vide* No. 48 in the Pilferers' dialect.

(6) Phatak* le = "Take away the necklace."

(7) Gár tor = "Take the 'hansli' (or collar-belt) away."

(8) Bhukla le = "Take other jewelry from the neck." "Other jewelry" should be "hainkal," by corruption "bhukla" = a string of silver pieces worn round the neck.

(9) Neshá phatak = "Take the jaushan (ornament worn on the arms)."

(10) Kaúl* chír = "Take away the bangles" (as in the Pilferers' dialect).

(11) Lokha sir* hai = "The owner is looking on." Compare "sir" in the dialect of the Pilferers having the same meaning.

(12) Chhappar detá hun = "I am concealing the property." "The property" is not in the original. See my note on "chhappar," No. 81 of dialect of "Thieves and Pickpockets."

(13) Tikká áyá = "The constable has come."

(14) Nákh máldár hai = "He has a bag full of money round his waist." (?)

(15) Bindá chhak = "Break the lock."

(16) Paiwand kar = "Make the breach (in the house)." The same as in the supposed dialect of the Delhi Sweepers.

(17) Baihti khá = "Go away." The same as in Gamblers, Section I.

(18) Bháta tham le = "Pick up some stones." Rather "a stone." The same as in the so-called Gamblers' dialect.

(19) Thikká = "Basin."

(20) Kekrá páprá = "Stolen property."

(21) Reza = "Clothes."

(22) Páb = "Golden ornaments."

CHAPTER VII.

SECTION I.—TERMS OF THE *Ahir* AND *Gujar* CASTE

(containing 13 words or sentences).

(1) Sarkáras = "Thief," &c.

(2) Rasái = "The house-breaking instrument." (The order of words followed in the last few sections shows an attempt at system.)

* Occurs also in the dialect of the Uchakkás or Thieves, Chapter I, Section III.

(3) *Paiwand* = "The breach in a dwelling made for stealing." The word has occurred among Meos and Delhi Sweepers.

(4) *Karīj bād* = "Gold."

(5) *Naksá* = "Silver."

(6) *Kirí* = "Jewelry of every description."

(7) *Karpár* = "Clothes."

(8) *Phatkan* = "Break the house." ["House" not in sentence]. "*Phat kan*" are two words.

(9) *Dhúr lodgí karyaní, raksa de* = "The men are awake; give me some weapon." "*Dhúr*" was "a rich man" with Gamblers.

(10) *Atái khut hogia* = "There is no chance of breaking the house."

(11) *Rastá áí* = "If any one comes at the time." The Urdu has "If any one should come when we are boring a hole [into the wall]."

(12) *Kharyá pharos, ya síti bajáni* = "Run away," or "whistle" in Panjabi slang.

(13) *Gouná kar* = "Conceal it in your mouth" (see No. 68 in terms of *Utháigíras* or *Pilferers*).

CHAPTER VII.

SECTION I.—TERMS USED BY THUGS OR CHEATERS, OPPRESSORS, &c.

(containing 4 sentences).

(1) *Kur kurá mela* = "Have found a rich man." The Urdu is "See a wealthy traveller going along."

(2) *Makkhí binakti hai* = "Some employer is coming." The Urdu is "Some sepoy or officer is looking."

(3) *Daghábáz choprá hai* = "There is no property or cash with him."

(4) *Afyoon khá lije* = "Strangle him by throwing the turban round the neck." The Urdu has "Kill him by throwing the turban round the neck." Literally, however, it is "Get him to eat opium," which may or may not be a preconcerted sentence for intended strangling, but it is obvious that any such sentence may be prearranged without its being necessarily part of a special dialect.

SECTION II.—TERMS USED BY THE CATTLE ROBBERS CALLED *PACHADA*

(containing 7 sentences). *Literal.*

(1) *Sir par háth rakhna* = "Put the hand on the head." *Explanation:* "My respect is in your hands (Take care and do not disgrace me by mentioning my name)." In the Thieves' slang elsewhere this is rendered as "Take the bundle on your head."

(2) *Ankhon par háth rakhna* = "Put the hand on the eyes." *Explanation:* "I have not seen it at all." (To deny.)

(3) *Kán par háth rakhna* = "Put the hand on the ears." *Explanation:* "I have neither heard nor am aware of it."

(4) *Mochhon par háth rakhna* = "Twist your moustaches." *Explanation:* "Behave like a man and do not give them a clue of any description."

(5) *Dáhrí par háth rakhna* = "Stroke the beard." *Explanation:* "Screen my shame (Do not tell anything about me to anybody)."

(6) Gardan par háth rakhna = "Put the hand on the neck." *Explanation*: "Take care, even if they hang you, do not confess it."

(7) Síne par háth rakhna = "Put the hand on the breast." *Explanation*: "Do not let anybody know your secrets ; keep them in your own mind."

With a few words regarding the "cattle robbers called Pachaddha" in Section II, Chapter VIII, I may conclude this Analysis. "Pachaddha" is not the name of a class, as Harni, Bauria, Gujar, &c. "Pachadh" is the name of a part of the country. If, from the fact of cattle-robbery prevailing in that part, the name "Pachádha" be given to cattle-robbers, the Bánggrús (inhabitants of Bangar) are as proficient cattle-lifters as the Pachádhas. It is surprising that the rude Pachádhas should have learnt the refined language of Delhi—the author's own. Not a single sentence in their dialect is given. We have merely an explanation of signs used by them, as occasion may serve, sometimes for one thing and sometimes for another. These signs can never be permanently fixed, and indeed in this very book we have the sign for "sir par háth rakhna" for "put the bundle on your head" in one place and "do not mention my name" in another.

Lahore, 2nd January 1880.

APPENDIX.

A DETAILED ANALYSIS

OF

ABDUL GHAFUR'S DICTIONARY OF THE TERMS USED BY
CRIMINAL TRIBES IN THE PANJAB.

BY

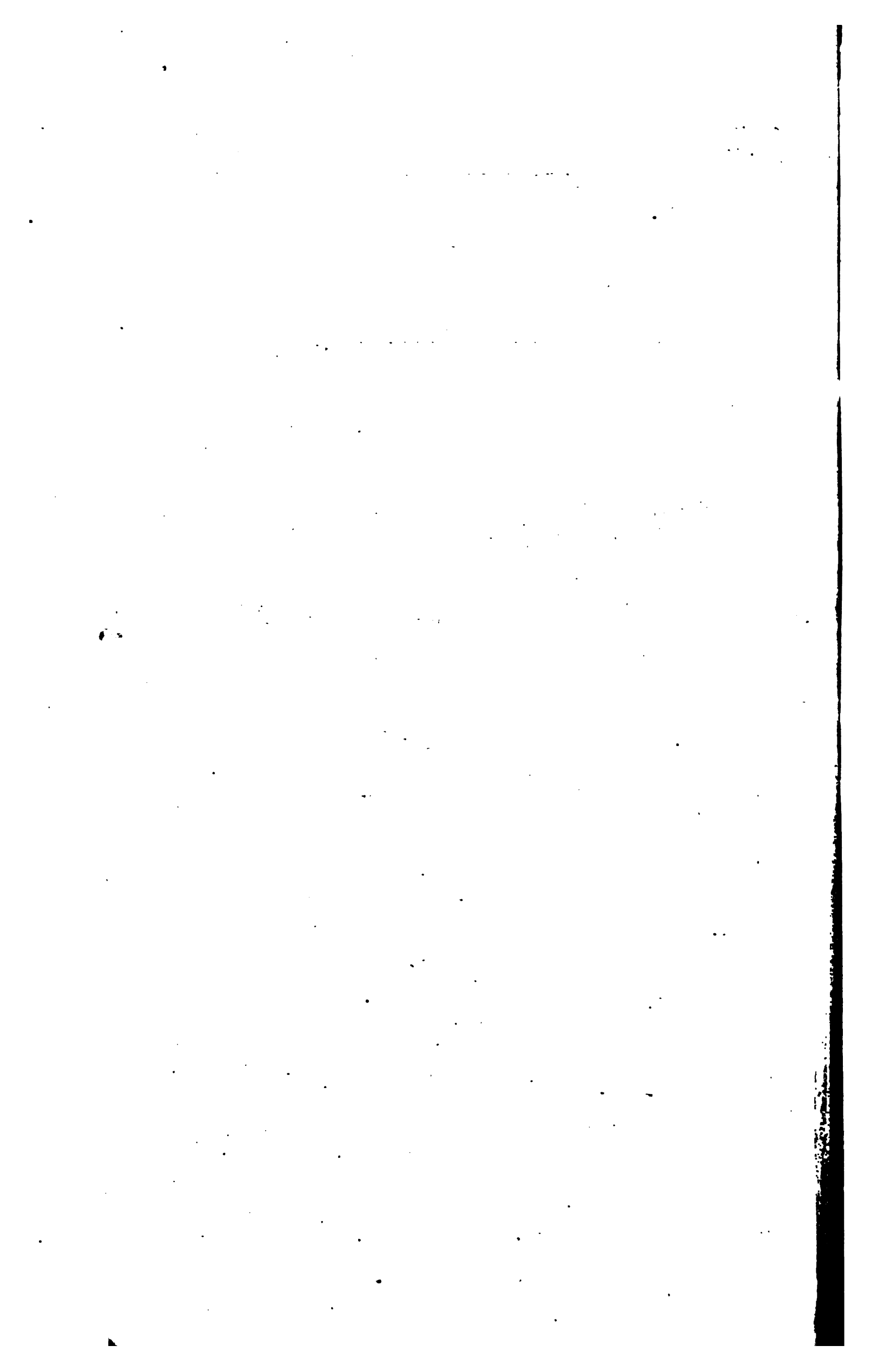
G. W. LEITNER, LL.D.



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